The Progressive Review

Nbr 329
November 1994

Four healthy heresies for a sick planet

Six years ago, the World Bank hired Herman Daly. Daly is, depending on your point of view, the most dangerous economist in the world or the most visionary. For years he taught economics at Louisiana State, writing articles that stood much of economics on its head. Recently he left the bank for a professorship in ecological economics at the University of Maryland. Here are four economic remedies he proposed to a packed audience in a parting address, as reported by Donnella H. Meadows for the quarterly Human Economy:

First: Stop counting the consumption of natural capital as income. When the Philippines permits its forests to be carried off as logs to Japan, its balance of payments looks good for a few years. When Indonesia sells off its oil, when the U.S. fishes its great cod populations down to remnants, the economy booms until the resource is gone. That behavior breaks the most time-honored economic law, which is to take this year only what will leave intact the capacity to produce the same amount next year.

Second: Tax labor and income less; tax more the flow of energy and materials from the earth through the economy and back to the earth in the form of waste. It makes no sense, says Daly, to tax what you want more of (income, capital gains) instead of what you want less of (depletion, pollution). Given that we have to tax something, we should tax energy, material extraction and pollution emission -- and not income.

Third: Maximize the productivity of natural capital and invest in increasing it. Economists don't have to be told that the smartest way to invest is to find the most limiting factor in an economy -- the factor holding back production -- and find a way to use it more efficiently or to get more of it. What economists do have to be told is that in many places the limiting factor is no longer labor or man-made capital. It is natural capital: "The fish catch is limited not by the number of fishing boats, but by the remaining fish in the sea. Cut timber is limited not by the number of sawmills, but by the standing forest." That realization is slow to come, partly because of inadequate accounting and partly because many economists were trained in a half-empty world where nature was abundant.

Fourth: Move away from the ideology of free trade and free capital mobility -- and towards national production for internal markets: "The royal road to development is thought to be the unrelenting conquest of each nation's market by all other nations. It is necessary to remind ourselves that the World Bank exists to serve the interests of its members, which are nation states. It has no charter to serve the cosmopolitan vision -- of converting many relatively independent national economies into one tightly integrated world economic network, upon which the weakened nations depend for even base survival."

Globalizing the economy means erasing much of the power of national governments to carry out policies for the common good. Any protection of local businesses, or of the environment can be struck down as a restraint of trade - as if trade were the highest value, to which all other values must be sacrificed.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Progressive Review
Bucking the system since 1966

The Progressive Review is published 10 times a year. Formerly the DC Gazette. One year subscription: $17. Two year subscription: $31. Single copies: $2.00. The Review uses Pacific News Service and monitors Peacenet.

Editor: Sam Smith
The Progressive Review
1739 Connecticut Ave NW
Washington DC 20009
202-232-5544
Fax Nbr: 202-234-6222

Internet: ssmith @ igc. org
Compuserve: 72067,1525
America On Line: SamSmith99
Prodigy: SFGW68A
ISSN 0889-2202

Hotline: *If you are a subscriber we will add you to our on-line hotline. Send us your e-mail address by postcard or to any of the addresses above.*

Become a supporting subscriber: *Many small circulation publications keep going with the help of supporting subscribers who contribute a sum in addition to their regular subscription to aid the publication in its work. We will be grateful if you indicate your support of our efforts by subscribing or renewing with a contribution above the normal fee or by sending us a contribution today. Mail to the Progressive Review, 1739 Connecticut Ave NW DC 20009*

Help spread the word: *To introduce the Review to friends through a free trial subscription, just write their names and addresses on a postcard and send it to the Review.*

Copyright 1994, *The Progressive Review. Articles not otherwise copyrighted may be reprinted by other periodicals provided they give proper credit and pay their normal reprint fees, if any*

Hawaii: retrieving sovereignty

Thomas S. Martin

The Hawaiian sovereignty movement -- a campaign by a small number of natives of the fiftieth state -- astoundingly seems to be on the brink of success. "There are few today who doubt that sovereignty will happen. It is a matter of how, when, and in what form." These words were spoken earlier this year -- not by any activist or radical -- but by John Waihee, the governor of Hawaii.

Within a population of 1.2 million, only about eight thousand pure-blooded Hawaiians remain. Part-Hawaiians, defined legally as those with more than 50% native ancestry, number about 200,000. When the islands were discovered 220 years ago, the population may have approached one million. European observers agreed that these must be the biggest, strongest and most handsome race of people on earth. The Europeans then set about slaughtering them (some outright; most by microbes and alcohol) and destroying their culture. Today the mixed-race survivors live in poverty and degradation. For many decades their language was suppressed and they were taught only the *haole* -- that is, European -- version of their history. Within the ethnic rainbow of today's Hawaii, natives rank highest in incidence of nearly every common disease. Their school dropout rate and their percentage of incarceration is also number one. Their typical life span is four years less than the state average. Teetering on what looks to be the brink of extinction, they are beginning to fight back.

The US Supreme Court has always recognized the existence of "tribal sovereignty," though its definition and range are debatable. This sovereignty is a fraud, however, since it can be overruled by the federal government. The state Office of Hawaiian Affairs professes itself ready to assume the government of a Hawaiian 'nation' on the model of the Navaho or Mohawk, but many native radicals want no part of such an arrangement. Hawaii, they recall, was recognized as a fully sovereign state for a hundred years. The French, the British and even the United States sent accredited diplomats to the royal court in Honolulu. That sovereignty was illegally overthrown by Americans in an 1893 coup. Though hundreds of Indian tribes were just as surely robbed of their lands, no ethnic group within the borders of the United States suffered such a recent abrogation of recognized sovereignty. From a legal point of view, the Hawaiian case is *sui generis*, and cannot be

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

resolved on the same grounds as any other Native American claim.

At present the controversy concerns land use and ownership more than actual political autonomy. The history of the islands requires this priority. The ownership of land in Hawaii is Byzantine in its complexity. Before 1840 the islands belonged to the king, period. Then a new constitution demoted him to mere trustee for the chiefs and people. In 1848 a Land Commission, formed at the urging of missionaries and sugar planters, enacted the Great Mahele, in which the kingdom was divided into thirds: one portion for the king (the Crown Lands), one for the chiefs (the Government Lands) -- "set apart forever to the chiefs and people," and one for the commoner farmers. In fact, much of the land, in all categories, was already leased by Americans. An extraordinary tangle of claims and counterclaims proliferated; many are still unsettled today. Real estate law emerged as an eclectic mix of Hawaiian feudalism and Anglo-American common law, a development which left native landholders vulnerable to the high-priced lawyers of the sugar and ranching interests.

When the United States formally annexed the Republic in 1898, both the Government and Crown Lands became federal property, and now renamed the Ceded Lands. Most native Hawaiians lived on this acreage, which constituted about one-half of the entire territory. Today, although the cession was explicitly set aside to benefit the natives, the United States has taken nearly 30% for military bases, national parks and other purposes. Another 10% is used under the Hawaiian Homes Act for homesteads for those of at least half native ancestry. The rest is leased by all manner of private and corporate entities, ranging from pineapple plantations to Waikiki hotels and the Honolulu International Airport. In 1959, the newly created state government tried to recover the Ceded Lands; it retrieved only 595.41 acres.

The Hawaiian Homes Act remains at the center of today's struggle. Much hot air was blown in Congress at the time about saving the Hawaiian people and their culture; but in fact the law passed in 1921 because plantation interests wanted abolition of an earlier law that limited private estates to 1000 acres. The planters had already found many loopholes in this restriction, but a complete abrogation vastly simplified their operations and improved their profits. By defining exactly which lands natives could claim -- 200,000 relatively useless acres -- the act left the remaining property up for grabs. The Hawaiian Homes Act also promised the natives a third of all rental income from "government land," but with an absolute cap of one million dollars.

To say that the homestead land is "useless" is not mere hyperbole. Some is actually quite valuable, but occupied by resort hotels or pineapple plantations, not by Hawaiians. The rest is on a par with many Indian reservations or the former Bantustans of South Africa: too dry or rugged to support many people. On Maui, the homestead lands lie on arid upper slopes above the timber line. The enclave of Nanakuli on Oahu has virtually no fresh water. Some the lands on the outer islands, to be sure, is fertile and well-watered; but remote and difficult to reach. Altogether two-thirds of the homestead land is now occupied by non-Hawaiians.

THE REVIEW ON LINE

If you are a subscriber and have an address on one of the following services, send it to us and we will add you to our on-line hotline.

INTERNET: *SSMITH@IGC.ORG*
COMPUSERVE: *72067,1525*
AMERICA ON LINE: *SAMSMITH99*
PRODIGY: *SFGW68A*

Even a cursory look at Hawaiian land law is enough to produce headaches; but the native movement, supported by a wide array of legal talent, is learning to use the law for its own purposes. For example, the doctrine of adverse possession, which has historically been used by corporations and planters to acquire native lands, is now being challenged by Hawaiian nationalists. Adverse possession made sense in medieval England, where it evolved to protect small farmers from rapacious nobles. It does not make sense in modern Hawaii, where every acre is encumbered with a long and involved title history. As if the real estate laws were not nightmare enough, Hawaiian land titles are further mystified by questions of appurtenant and prescriptive water rights, riparian and fishing rights, and arguments about what constitutes the "shoreline" and "submerged lands." Then there is the problem of new lands created by accretion, avulsion, reliction, or lava flows. Many parcels are affected by traditional and legal easements and "gathering rights." Most sensitive of all is the protection of native burial grounds, sacred lands and archaeological sites. These rights may overlap, as for example when a proposed water reservoir threatens fishing grounds, cemeteries and/or trails connecting native parcels. Genuine sovereignty may seem a utopian goal, but the facts of the matter are crystal clear when compared to the land-claims nightmare. The overthrow of Queen Liliuokalani and the subsequent annexation in 1898 were indisputable violations of national and international law. Grover Cleveland himself said so, as did many judicial experts then and later. In considering the legality of the coup that preceded American annexation President Cleveland wrote in December 1893: "The law of nations is founded upon reason and justice, and the rules of conduct governing individual relations between citizens or subjects of a civilized state are equally applicable as between enlightened nations." Since no authority can enforce international law, "obedience to its commands practically

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

depends upon good faith" and "any deliberate infraction of it" must be branded as "not merely wrong but as a disgrace."

Although moral considerations usually don't have much relevance in Washington, they may offer firmer ground for the demands of the Hawaiian activists. Those appealing to an American or international tribunal must not only abide by the decision but, more seriously, must make a tacit admission that the court -- or any court -- somehow has a right to decide matters of native self-determination.

The sovereignty movement is some twenty years old. In the 1970s *On Being Hawaiian*, by John Dominis Holt (a relative of Queen Liliuokalani) distilled the philosophy behind a diffuse revival of native arts, language and custom that paralleled the rise of the American Indian movement, black studies programs and ecology. An organization called ALOHA -- Aboriginal Lands of Hawaiian Ancestry -- launched a high-profile campaign for reparations, resulting in the introduction of several bills in the House of Representatives. No legislation resulted, even though Congress had just passed a similar Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. In the 1980s a rapid increase in hotel and beach development roused many and an alliance with environmentalists was forged. On the down side, nativist organizations have proliferated, often working at cross purposes; with some becoming quasi-cults. Demonstrations against construction projects by the military and the tourist industry are frequent, but rarely produce more than publicity.

Today the leading native organization is Ka Lahui Hawaii, founded in 1987 by three hundred activists led by two sisters: Kay-Haunani Trask of the University of Hawaii and Mililani Trask, an attorney who now serves as *kia aina*, or governor, of the organization. In seven years the group has grown to 19,000, and Ka Lahui Hawaii is one of the newest members of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization. In 1988 Senator Daniel K. Inouye threw his weight behind the Hawaiian rights movement. "Within my lifetime," he told a roomful of activists in Washington, "I will come to the inauguration of your first sovereign leader."

With the approach of a 1995 referendum, groups are coalescing around one of three options. Secession and full independence of all or parts of the Hawaiian islands is the most just, but least likely, possibility. Sentiment for this alternative is growing rapidly, but not among those with the power to make it happen. Economic redress within existing political structures is preferred by the islands' ruling elite. Between these extremes is the "nation within a nation" model, which has been endorsed by Ka Lahui Hawaii and the Native American Rights Fund, as well as by UNPO. Many people connected with the state's Office of Hawaiian Affairs support the idea as well. Based on the Iroquois sovereignty movement, this plan calls for something resembling mainland Indian reservations. The Ceded Lands would no longer be part of the state, but would become a "non-self governing territory" like American Samoa. Non-Hawaiians on this land (including the state and federal governments) would pay rent and taxes to the Hawaiians. The "nation within a nation" could enjoy recognition and protection from the UN. Or it might enter into a "free association" agreement like that between the United States and Puerto Rico.

It should be remembered that the "sovereignty" game is a dangerous one to play, at least under American rules. The judicial definition of native sovereignty, which dates back to the case of *Worcester v. Georgia* in 1823, is rather a sick joke. It allows the federal government to determine which groups are "tribes," and then grants those tribes "sovereign" status -- in quotation marks because the feds get to decide what "sovereignty" means, and then override it when Congress judges that the interests of the United States are threatened. One hundred seventy years of federal court decisions demonstrate that the dice are loaded, and not in favor of the native peoples. The greatest danger of all, however, is the potential fracturing of Hawaii's harmonious ethnic rainbow. As Governor Waihee says, "We may ultimately fail to improve the lot of all Hawaiians and inadvertently undermine the multicultural community that has taken generations to work out."

Thomas S. Martin teaches at Sinclair Community College in Dayton, Ohio.

WEATHER REPORT

No diet for defense

Largely unmentioned in all the talk of deficit reduction is the role that America's gargantuan defense budget plays. For example, on Feb. 8, Defense Secretary Perry told Congress that weapon purchases between 1996 and 1999 are expected to rise 20%. And Robert Hollis reported in the *San Francisco Examiner* on Aug. 28, "This year, we will spend more on defense than the rest of the world combined."

Why? One carefully concealed truth is that many defense contractors don't know how to do anything other than build weaponry. A study conducted for General Dynamics found that there was an 80% failure rate when defense contractors bought businesses outside of military industries. In a remarkable speech in 1991, General Dynamics CEO William Anders said, "Defense industry management teams generally have little commercial experience and 'market savvy.' Most have been 'cost plus' and 'mil spec' trained. In short: most don't bring a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

competitive advantage of non-defense businesses. Frankly, sword makers don't make good and affordable plowshares."

Roughly translated, this means that defense contractors have become so used to feeding non-competitively at the federal trough that they can't survive in the normal world of business.

The mediacracy

Census figures show poverty in the US at its highest level since 1961. Conservative critics note that when poverty jumped in the early Reagan administration, the mainstream press repeated Democratic charges that the change was the result of GOP policies. This time, not even the *Washington Times* mentioned Clinton in its stories and the *New York Times* buried the whole matter on page 16, where it cited "the long-term growth in inequality."

Drug busts

Despite the War on Drugs, the percentage of DC juvenile arrestees testing positive for drugs is now higher than it was in 1987, near the start of the anti-drug crusade. Now 54% of the arrestees test positive; in 1987 only 35% did. The low point was 1990 when the figure was down to 16%.

NORML reports that the National Guard is now conducting counter-drug missions in all fifty states and four territories. It logged nearly a half million flight crew hours conducting surveillance of Americans' homes and businesses and seized 7000 vehicles. Even liberals like Rep. Charles Schumer think this is just fine. During a congressional hearing, Schumer said, "Redefining [the National Guard's] role in the post Cold War era presents exciting possibilities in the war against crime."

Heide Moser, social minister of the German state of Schleswig-Holstein, says that she favors the sale of soft drugs such as hashish in cafes. Her comments came just two weeks after a state court cut the punishment for hashish possession. Moser said that cannabis is "not as dangerous as previously assumed. What is most dangerous is criminalizing it." Holland already has such a system, with hashish available in some 1500 coffee shops

DARE -- the drug "education" program run by law enforcement officers and members of the National Guard -- has encouraged children to report drug-using parents to the police. It is also apparently a waste of tax dollars. So says a study by the Research Triangle Institute that found that "DARE's short-term effectiveness for reducing or preventing drug use behavior is small and less than for interactive prevention programs." The report also said that "Despite the extensive DARE training received by law enforcement officers they may not be as well equipped to lead the curriculum as teachers." The *Boston Globe* reported that the Justice Department had funded but then rejected this study that "concluded that the country's most popular school-based drug prevention program doesn't work."

One school system that rigorously examined DARE also found it wanting. A report of the Ashfield-Plainfield Regional School District in Massachusetts says, for example, that in one lesson children are asked about illicit drugs and alcohol, but tobacco is not mentioned except in the true or false quiz question "Smoking marijuana may be more harmful than smoking regular cigarettes."

The lesson has the officer point out that the instruction is mainly on alcohol and marijuana "because these are the drugs most used by young people" despite the fact that in another lesson students are told that "one in seven young persons smokes cigarettes." The committee studying DARE suggested that parents be informed in advance of the program and asked their permission before their children take it. Further, parents should get newsletters and workbooks that explain just what their children are being taught.

For more on the Ashfield study, contact Ann Mislak, acting principal of the Sanderson Academy, 413-628-4404. Copies of the RTI study from Susan T. Ennett, Research Triangle Institute, POB 12194, Research Triangle Park, NC 277709

Land of the free

The Greater Washington Urban League, reports DC's *City Paper*, is mailing out 3000 copies of a brochure called *What to Do When Stopped by the Police*. The brochure tells people to "stay calm, act mature, keep a level head, and use common sense" when approached by the police. It also says: "In many situations you can talk your way into jail just as well as you can talk your way out of jail. Avoid being confrontational." Ironically, the pamphlet is going out just as the city was ready to re-elect as its mayor Marion Barry, who got his start in part by confronting police abuse of minority citizens.

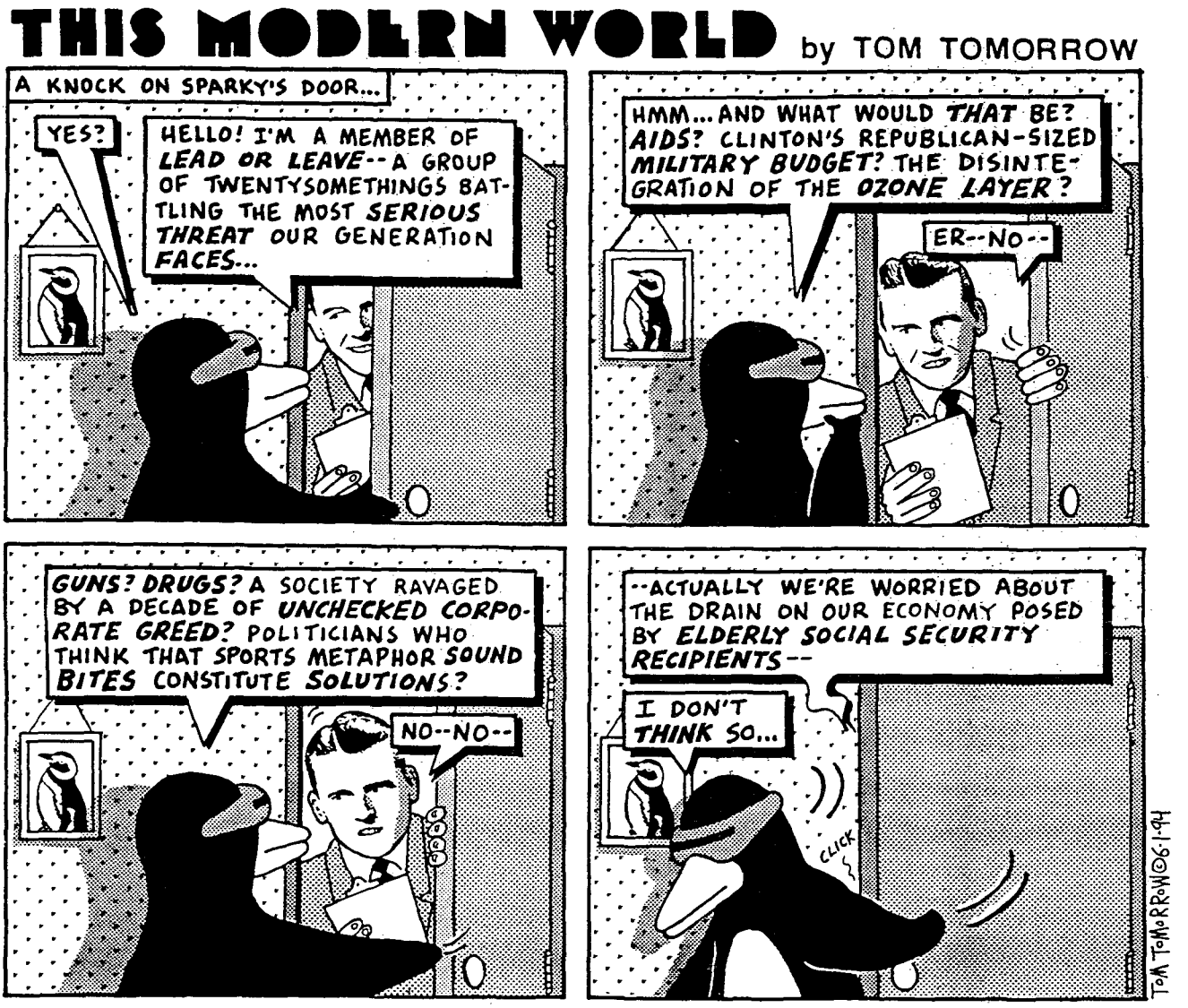
Not all Pentagon conflicts are military

Take, for example, the fact that Defense Secretary William Perry, his deputy John Deutch, and Anita Jones, director of research and engineering are all former directors of the contractor SAIC -- which earns more that $1.7 billion from the Pentagon and is currently the subject of a government investigation, according to *Financial World*. Actually it's better than that: Bobby Ray Inman -- who withdrew as a candidate for defense secretary rather than face congressional grilling -- was also on the SAIC board as has been former Defense secretary Melvin Laird who once tried to intercede with then Attorney General Richard Thornburgh to have a planned prosecution of SAIC on another matter dropped. At last reports neither Perry nor Deutch have recused themselves.

Attacking the wealth primary

Jamin Raskin, associate dean at American University's law school, and John Bonifaz, director of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


THIS MODERN WORLD by TOM TOMORROW
A KNOCK ON SPARKY'S DOOR...
YES?
HELLO! I'M A MEMBER OF LEAD OR LEAVE--A GROUP OF TWENTYSOMETHINGS BATTLING THE MOST SERIOUS THREAT OUR GENERATION FACES...
HMM... AND WHAT WOULD THAT BE? AIDS? CLINTON'S REPUBLICAN-SIZED MILITARY BUDGET? THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE OZONE LAYER?
ER--NO--
GUNS? DRUGS? A SOCIETY RAVAGED BY A DECADE OF UNCHECKED CORPORATE GREED? POLITICIANS WHO THINK THAT SPORTS METAPHOR SOUND BITES CONSTITUTE SOLUTIONS?
NO--NO--
--ACTUALLY WE'RE WORRIED ABOUT THE DRAIN ON OUR ECONOMY POSED BY ELDERLY SOCIAL SECURITY RECIPIENTS--
I DON'T THINK SO...
CLICK
TOM TOMORROW©6·1·94

National Voting Rights Institute, have filed a suit challenging campaign finance laws on the grounds that they violate the Fifth and 14th Amendment equal protection provisions. Most major efforts to reform campaign law has foundered on the free speech provision of the First Amendment. But Raskin and Bonifaz say the role of wealth in politics has strong parallels with that formerly held by race until the courts outlawed such discriminatory policies as the poll tax. The two lawyers cite Justice William O, Douglas who wrote that "a state violates the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment whenever it makes the affluence of the voter or the payment of any fee an electoral standard." Wealth, said Douglas, was "not germane to one's ability to participate intelligently in the electoral process." To buttress their case, the Raskin and Bonifaz note that 81% of the money raised for House and Senate races in 1992 came from less than one percent of the nation's population and that Beverly Hills, with 31,000 residents, gave twice the campaign contributions of the whole city of San Diego, which has a population of 1.6 million.

Raskin and Bonifaz say a voluntary public financing system would meet the requirements of equal protection: "The purported First Amendment rights of those participating in the wealth primary would be unaffected, they could keep spending to the heavens. But with a system of democratically financed elections in place, no longer would this exclusionary private process infringe on the rights of equal participation for citizens without wealth."

Just politics

Backers of the 1992 campaign of Ross Perot, members of the Green Party, ethnic groups and independents not aligned with either of the two old national parties have taken the first steps towards forming coalitions at the state and local level. The most dramatic example was in New Mexico where a Green-Latino-Perot

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

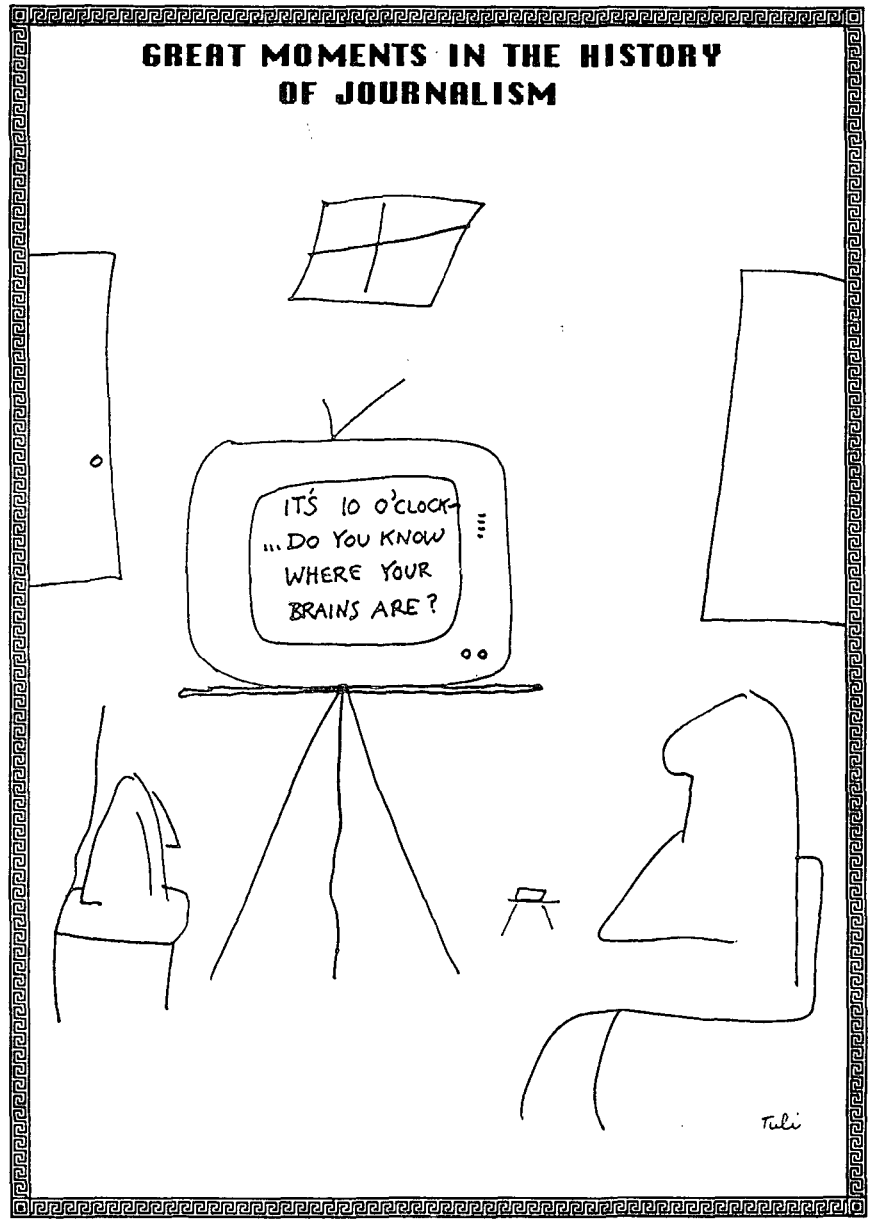
alliance formed behind Green gubernatorial candidate Roberto Mondragon. As the *Nation* reported in its October 24 issue: "The Greens' fifty-three page platform tries to bridge the gap between dissenters of the left and the center, if not the right."

The platform included such items as term and campaign spending limits, strong environmental planks, deficit reduction, a 50% cut in the military, and a "living wage" instead of a minimum wage.

That political activists of various persuasions share a broad range of concerns -- headed by disgust with the current two party system -- became apparent at an unusual conference held at Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Me., in February 1993. Although organized by the Greens, the conference inlcuded other third party activists. Rick Adams of the Campaign for a New Tomorrow was one of the speakers. Also present were representatives from the Libertarians and United We Stand, which developed out of the Perot campaign. For example, UWS leader Charlie Graham not only attended but ended up co-moderating one of the workshops.

In a recent letter to the newsletter *Green Horizon* Graham outlined why he had continued work with the Greens despite his differences with them: "Politicians and bureaucrats won't solve our disagreements. They'll use them to manipulate and marginalize both groups and build their own power while doing so. . . What we can do is work together to bring about creative compromises and cooperation that may save both our interests and preempt interference from the outside."

This summer, members of various third parties and new mainstream movements gathered at Oakland, CA to discuss the nuts and bolts of a new politics. Among the speakers was Dan Cantor of the New Party, which has emphasized local races, winning a majority of those it has entered. There were also representatives from the Peace and Freedom Party and the National Patriot Party. Says Virginia Green activist Linda Martin, "The presentations and discussion revealed a lot of disagreement over strategy and style, and to some degree over which values have priority, but they also revealed a lot of common ground on which to build."



The Greens enjoyed the largest gain in parliamentary seats of any party in the recent German elections.

City desk

From the most recent issue of *In Context*: "Residents of Curitiba, Brazil, think they live in the best city in the world and a lot of outsiders agree. Crutiba has 17 new parks, 90 miles of bike paths, trees everywhere, and traffic and garbage systems that officials from other cities come to study. Curitiba's mayor for 12 years, Jaime Lerner, has a 92% approval rating." Lerner is an architect who thinks small, involves the people and uses a lot of common sense. When shopkeepers resisted a planned pedestrian zone, he suggested a 30-day trial. Now other commercial strips want to follow suit. Seventy percent of the city's shoppers and commuters use public transportation which is built on a spoke and wheel system, using triple-compartment buses

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that travel in their own lanes. They go as fast as subways at one-eightieth of the construction cost. Lerner says of his 1.6 million population city: "The dream of a better city is always in the heads of its residents. Our city isn't a paradise. It has most of the problems of other cities. But when we provide good buses and schools and health clinics, everybody feels respected."

Small notes

The Aug. 20 *Economist* came out strongly against centralized government in London. Since 1986, when Thatcher abolished the Greater London Council, the city has been run by 32 local authorities plus a city corporation (along with some metropolitan services such as the police). The Lord Mayor only presides over the one square mile of the financial district. Concludes the *Economist*: "If Cairo, Calcutta and Mexico City are to be manageable in the next century, they need to learn London's lesson: self-governing neighborhoods work better than a single city hall, and are a safer base for an urban economy."

The Supreme Court will hear arguments this term on a case with important implications for the Tenth Amendment, which reserves powers not enumerated in the Constitution to the states and the people. The case involves a federal gun-free school zone law, which the Fifth Circuit found beyond Congress's powers -- and hence unconstitutional. Congress has increasingly run rough-shod over state and local rights -- often under cover of the regulation of commerce clause. Of some 500 laws preempting states rights over the course of American history, a recent study has found that about half were passed in the last two decades. If the Fifth Circuit case is upheld, it could put a serious crimp in the continued centralization of America's government.

Whitewater

Denial in the mainstream media is rampant. Here's Molly Ivins: "The most interesting part of the story will come when the media have to acknowledge that there is nothing there . . . Shall we write on our various blackboard 1000 times, 'The Clintons did nothing wrong'?"

Jerry Seper of the *Washington Times* came through again on Oct. 19 with a story that Arkansas state trooper LD Brown had overheard Bill Clinton, in a reference to the notorious $300,000 SBA backed loan (part of which ended up in Whitewater) ask Judge Hale: "David are you gong to able to help Jim and me out?" Clinton denies any knowledge of the loan, which has attracted major attention by the special prosecutor.

The Oct. 18 *Wall Street Journal* contains a good summary of the suppressed investigation into drug running through the Mena, AK, airport. The feds apparently sabotaged the investigation and Clinton's administration, while aware of the situation, looked the other way. The WSJ story recounts the ten year struggle of IRS investigator William Duncan to expose the Mena operation. Despite nine separate federal and state probes, nothing happened. Says Duncan -- who eventually quit in disgust: "The Mena investigations were never supposed to see the light of day." They were "interfered with and covered up, and the justice system was perverted."

Writing in the Oct. 9 *London Telegraph*, Ambrose Evans-Pritchard wrote that Arkansas was a "major point for the transshipment of drugs" during the 1980s and "perilously close to becoming a 'narco-republic' -- a sort of mini-Columbia within the borders of the United States." Evans-Pritchard also alleges that by "1986 there was an epidemic of cocaine, contaminating the political establishment from top to bottom," with parties "at which cocaine would be served like hors d'oeuvres and sex was rampant." He adds that Clinton attended some of these events.

Pseudo-science and race

While appearing to maintain a stance of objectivity, the media have been extraordinarily willing to pass on neo-darwinian arguments about genetics and race.

Here are a few facts to keep in mind:

- Race is not a scientific concept but a social one, a concept whose purposes throughout history have been overwhelmingly negative. In fact, there is more variation within the black "race" then there is between average whites and average blacks.
- As Jim Holt recently pointed out in the New York Times, the genetic diversity among different groups of humans is minuscule. The majority of observed variation is among individuals within the same race: "Only a tiny residue distinguishes Europeans from Africans from Asians. This means that Patrick Buchannan has more in common genetically with many Xhosas and Outer Mongolians than he does with, say, Prince Charles."
- IQ tests, despite media claims to the contrary, contain cultural biases. An unintended example was used by *Newsweek*: in a sample question the student is given the premise that an acorn is to a seed as a what is to a what. To answer this questions correctly it helps to have grown up in a neighborhood that actually had acorns. The oak is not a typical inner city tree.
- There is a growing understanding that IQ tests at best measure only one form of intelligence. Other varieties -- such as that of a musical maestro or social intelligence -- are ignored even though some of these -- such as social intelligence -- may have far more survival value than the sort measured by IQ tests. Further, it has been found people will differ in problem-solving based on whether the question is posed as an abstraction or as a specific example.
- The only study that took into account pre-natal and post-natal care found that the out-of-wedlock offspring of blacks were slightly smarter than out of wedlock

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

children of white US soldiers during our occupation of Germany. Further, Holt reports, adoption studies have shown that moving a child to a better home-life can improve a child's IQ by more than 20 points.

Notes from the real world

Now that even Lloyd Cutler has to submit to random urine tests, it may not be long before America's new puritans pick up on an idea from Turkey. That country has allowed police and medical agencies to force young women to have virginity tests, according to Human Rights Watch.

The Pacific News Service reports that scores of babies conceived by Gulf War veterans who suffer symptoms of Gulf War Syndrome have been born with crippling birth defects. Some babies were born with no eyes, arms or hands, or with chronic skin conditions and malformed brains. A survey of some 600 sick veterans conducted by a Senate committee chaired by Sen. Donald Riegle found that 65 percent of their babies are afflicted with dozens of medical problems including severe birth defects. The survey also found that 77% of the wives were sick, as well as 25% of the children born before the war. The Gulf War was one of the most toxic ever.

ROADSIGNS

Government

Amount Pentagon spends on travel each year: $2 billion

Amount Pentagon spends to process the paper work for its travel: $2.3 billion

Politics

Odds of winning a 1992 congressional seat if you spent less than $100,000: 0

Odds of winning if you spent $100,000-$249,000: 13:1

Odds of winning if you spent $250,000-$499,999: 4:1

Odds of winning if you spent $500,000 and over: 2:1

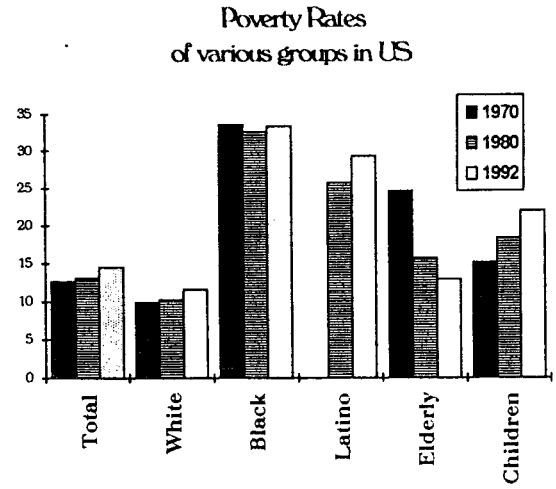
Poverty

Number of Americans who cannot afford to buy enough food to maintain good health: 30 million

Amount of money it would take to expand federal food programs to eliminate hunger in US: $10 billion.

Percentage of US children under 18 who lived in poverty in 1993: 23%

Number of industrialized countries with a higher child poverty rate: 0



SOURCES

Chart: Bread for World Institute

Government: National Performance Review quoted by Christian Century **Politics:** Center for Responsive Politics **Poverty:** Tufts University Center on Hunger, Poverty and Nutrition Policy

FIELD NOTES

READING

America's Longest War by Steven Duke and Albert Gross. The case against drug prohibition from Tarcher/Putnam.

GROUPS

Committee For Better Transit: Working for light rail in and around New York City. Publishes New York Streetcar News six times a year. POB 3106, Long Island City NY 11103. 718-728-0091

The Society for Human Economy: A worldwide network of people developing new approaches to economic issues. Quarterly newsletter (from which this month's leader comes), local chapters. $15 annual membership from Human Economy Center, POB 28, West Swanzey NH 03469.

CHANGES

Urban Ecology has moved to 405 14th St. #701, Oakland CA 94612

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What they're saying about
SHADOWS OF HOPE
by Sam Smith. . .

"[Compared to *The Agenda*] Smith's book is by far the wiser and more useful and certainly the more entertaining of the two. . . [Bob Woodward's] judgments, when he works up the energy to make any, are purely mundane. Smith, on the other hand, is turned on by politics. . .His saucy judgments remind one of the way H. L. Mencken handled presidential campaigns." -- *Robert Sherrill, The Texas Observer.*

"Smith offers [a] community based, participatory politics that's neither left nor right wing but the whole bird. . . . His work is not different from what quality journalism ought to be: truth-seeking, independent, fair-minded and debunking." - *Coleman McCarthy, Washington Post*

"If you want an understanding of how all ideas in Washington DC are eventually trivialized and mulched by the chipper-shredder of media politics, it is Smith's book rather than Woodward's that provides the insight. . . As freely as [Woodward's] sources spoke, *The Agenda* is, oddly enough, not filled with memorable quotes. Fortunately, *Shadows* has an abundance of them." -- *James J. McCusker, Everett, Washington, Herald*

$22.50
Indiana University Press

THE PROGRESSIVE REVIEW
1739 Connecticut Ave NW
Washington DC 20009-8922

Use this form to subscribe, renew or change your address

[ ] One year $17
[ ] Two years $31
[ ] Foreign one year $27
[ ] Contribution enclosed $_____
[ ] Please correct my address at right

Mail with check to address above

SUBSCRIBER NEWSLETTER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED